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AUTHOR Jones, James M.
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ABSTRACT

The question addressed in this paper is that of the stance that black psychology should adopt in relation to social issues. This question is relevant to critical issues such as the political policy setting nature of social sciences, the economics of funding necessary to conduct the research that might have policy implications, and the conceptual and methodological structure of social science research. There are three general stances that are suggested for black psychology vis-a-vis social science. These are: political neutralizer and advocate, exemplary practitioner, and pioneering leader. Each of these three possible roles can be elaborated and clarified by juxtaposition with the view that social science in America is primarily a cultural phenomenon developed and guided by a community of people who share in the same cultural beliefs. In the first half of the paper, an attempt is made to show how focused social science research has been with respect to a certain set of cultural principles. The second half discusses some ways in which issues, questions and strategies from the perspective of Black Psychology can be conceived that have as their pioneering change in popular conceptions of black people specifically, and human beings more generally. (Author/AM)

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CONCEPTUAL AND STRATEGIC ISSUES IN
THE RELATIONSHIP OF BLACK PSYCHOLOGY
TO AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE

by

James M. Jones
Harvard University

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Introduction

One of the remarkable developments of the first three-quarters of twentieth century America has been the burgeoning growth of social science. The Federal government spends billions of dollars for social science research under the varied auspices of the National Science Foundation, National Institutes of Mental Health, and numerous departments and agencies like HEW, Office of Education, Defense Department, and so on. It appears that every major policy stance, or legislative decision is buttressed by some piece of 'evidence' from social science research. If we add to the enormous expenditures of the Federal government, the substantial allocations of private foundations, it is easy to see that social science research has the dimensions of large scale corporate big business.

It is not simply that large sums of money are allocated to social science research, but that this society has tended to stand behind this research as a basis for major decisions affecting its fundamental socio-economic fabric. In its decision of 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the 'separate but equal' doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson citing modern authority (the research findings of social scientists like Kenneth and Mamie Clark) as the justification for this decision. More recently, the issue of bussing to achieve racial integration has created a volatile situation with social scientists arguing on both sides of the issue.¹

The question I wish to address in this paper is what stance should Black Psychology adopt in relation to this massive enterprise of social science? Although they cannot be easily separated, this question is relevant to each of the critical aspects noted above; namely the political policy setting nature of social science; the economics of funding which is necessary

for one to conduct the research that might have policy implications; and at the most fundamental level, the conceptual and methodological structure of social science research.

We may think of social science as an ideology, a profession, a political weapon, or a number of other things, but at its most basic level it is simply a methodology or a set of conventions which are accepted and shared by a particular community. The leverage enjoyed by social science resides, I believe, in the adherence to and belief in the scientific method. The scientific method is seen as an algorithm to a 'state of knowing; knowledge as opposed to intuition' (Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary, 1965). Two of the dominant tenets of scientific method are objectivity and replicability. I contend that social science cannot adhere to the strictest principles of scientific method because a) the scientists themselves are a fundamental part of the socius they are studying hence objectivity is not fully possible or as some of argued, even desirable; and b) research is not replicable because it is not possible to recreate the exact conditions of a given social experiment or even more fundamentally, many of the phenomena uncovered are bounded in time so that failure to replicate because the "knowledge" gained in an earlier experiment is no longer a valid and appropriate observation.

Kuhn (1962) pointed out that basis for the progress of scientific research was largely due to rather simple-minded practices based on the acceptance within the scientific community of certain paradigms. This day-to-day practice of normal science was only elevated to fundamental and dramatic discoveries when major paradigmatic departures occurred which permitted new questions to be asked at the same time old ones were answered. These dramatic paradigmatic shifts were given the name scientific revolutions.

It is my view that Black Psychology has within its grasp, indeed within its mandate, the goal of creating paradigmatic revolution in social science. The substance of those revolutions must lie in a vision of the human condition from the viewpoint of black life and culture.

There are three general stances I can see for Black Psychology vis a vis social science. These are not exhaustive, certainly, but frame a point of view.

1) Political Neutralizer and Advocate-- This role has been the major one played by Black Psychology in its recent history.² Work done by the Bay Area Black Psychologists in the jury selection for the Angela Davis trial, or efforts to obtain a moratorium on psychological testing of black children are examples.

2) Exemplary Practitioners-- It is easy to critique social science for its excesses and inadequacies, but it is a fact of modern life and must be reckoned with. Indeed there are things that can be learned through the application of social science techniques and Black Psychology must master these techniques and employ them effectively. One way in which good research can be used is to discredit sloppily done research that reaches conclusions that are pejorative and possibly harmful to black people. Good research can also be used to discover important relationships which might assist in planning the educational strategies for many black children.

3) Pioneering Leaders-- This role follows from the revolutionary model described earlier. Social science has taken on a static quality producing simple-minded generalizations that clearly do not fit the real world complexity of cultural, regional, racial and sexual variations. Indeed, the scientific model is necessarily limited because of its requirements for

objectivity and replicability. Given this limitation, I see the need for a major paradigmatic shift to include an alternative approach based on a fusion of principles of Art and Science. (I have discussed this notion in more detail elsewhere, Jones, 1974). Simply stated, Art is a metaphor for life and is a multi-media, multifaceted view whose avenue to knowledge is emotional and experiential understanding. To blend this avenue with the disciplines precision and control of scientific method is to produce a synthesis that promises a new body of data informed by a new view of human capacity.

Each of these three possible roles can be elaborated and clarified by juxtaposition with the view that social science in America is primarily a cultural phenomenon developed and guided (not necessarily with a steady teleological hand and a single mind) by a community of people who share in the same basic cultural beliefs. In the first half of the paper, I will attempt to show how focused social science research has been with respect to a certain set of cultural principles. In the second half, I will discuss some ways in which we might conceive issues, questions and strategies from the perspective of Black Psychology with the goal of pioneering change in popular conceptions of black people specifically, and human beings more generally.

The Cultural Perspective in Social Scientific Analysis

In 1921, Scribners and Sons published Harvard psychology professor William McDougall's book, Is America Safe For Democracy? The book was based on six lectures given at the Lowell Institute of Boston under the title "Anthropology and History, or the Influence of Anthropologic Constitution on the Destinies of Nations." Noting the apparently inevitable rise and fall of empires in the past, McDougall questions whether the

United States, having just risen to world power through industrial development, world expansion and a major military success, is doomed to repeat the errors of past empires?

McDougall evaluates two theories of the rise of empires 1) the economic theory which says civilizations rise due to favorable conditions, trade routes, natural resources and so on; and 2) the anthropologic theory suggests that the rise is due to superior genetic stock. McDougall prefers the anthropologic explanation as he notes Africa, a continent of superior economic possibilities, has failed to produce high civilizations due to the inferior stock of its inhabitants. He concludes that "the great condition of the decline of any civilization is the inadequacy of the qualities of the people who are the bearers of it" (p.12).

McDougall argues there are two fundamental components to superior genetic stock; the first is intellectual capacity, the second is moral character. Intellectual capacity he considers to be the cornerstone of Western culture. Given that intellectual capacity is such an important part of America's strength, McDougall is pleased to note: "An important step in mental anthropology has recently been made...the method of intelligence tests whose results are statistically valid" (p.43). Using the new I.Q. tests and looking at differences in social class and racial composition by region he comes to the following conclusions.

"We have then pretty good evidence that capacity for intellectual growth is inborn in different degrees, that it is hereditary, and also that it is correlated with social status. Further, we have good evidence that different races possess it in widely differing degrees; that races differ in intellectual stature just as they differ in physical stature" (pp. 66-67).³

He concludes that black people are intellectually inferior to whites, and that this deficiency is an hereditary fact. In an attempt to account for the finding that black men in the North scored higher on IQ tests than black men in the South, he concluded that the former did so because of a larger amount of Caucasian blood.⁴

It is striking to compare this conclusion by McDougall writing in 1921 with the conclusion of Richard Herrnstein, a psychology professor at Harvard writing 50 years later:

1. if differences in mental abilities are inherited, and
2. if success requires those abilities, and
3. if earnings and prestige depend on success,
4. then social standing will be based to some extent on inherited among people. (Herrnstein, 1971)

We note that Jensen (1969) considered intelligence "to be what intelligence tests measure" and that McDougall concluded "it is true that we cannot exactly define this vague thing which we measure and call 'intellectual capacity.'" From the social scientific perspective intelligence is only definable in operational terms. Clearly then as a concept "intelligence has transcended its biological evolutionary meaning, and become a matter of methodological fiat. Attempts to combat intelligence tests are at their essence an attempt to combat the methodology of intelligence testing. The Black Intelligence Test Counterbalanced for Honkies (BITCH) was initiated as a paradigmatic joke. However, recent events have turned this methodological game into a serious enterprise.

The point here is simply that intelligence tests from their inception have served as a rationalization of societal processes which favor one group against another. Further, the ultimate rationalization of these social scientific applications resides on methodological grounds.

However, McDougall goes on to make what he considers to be the more important point concerning moral character. Moral character consists in three aspects: (a) curiosity, (b) intraversion and (c) sociability. Identifying what he calls the three races of Europe: Nordic types of Scandanavia, the Alpine or middle Europeans, and the Mediterranean or lower Europeans, McDougall ranks and characterizes them as follows: 1/ the Nordics characterized by high curiosity, high intraversion and low sociability; 2/ Alpines who are moderate on all three aspects; and 3/ the Mediterraneans described as low in curiosity, high in extraversion and high in sociability.

McDougall further refines these judgments with reference to specific attributes and examples. One such attribute is strength of will. McDougall notes the case of a government of 300 million Indians who are ruled by a handful of Britishmen is "a remarkable fact in the history of the world. It is a marvelous achievement." The ability of these handful of Britishmen to govern 300 million Indians is due not to intelligence but to the moral character he defines in terms of strength of will.

In discussing the differences between intraversion and extraversion McDougall notes that suicide and divorce are both more prevalent in Scandanavian countries. He concludes that intraversion combined with curiosity leads to divorce and suicide, and these behaviors reflect brooding self-reflection and subsequent action in contrast with the quick and unreflective actions of homicide characteristic of the Mediterraneans.

Another important attribute is self-assertion: "the instinct of self-assertion, is the most essential, the all-important factor, in which we call character, that complex organization from which spring all manifestations of willpower, all volition, resolution, hard choice, initiative, enterprise,

determination" (p.115). To support this notion, he notes that the British were conspicuously more successful colonists than the French. In part, this is due to the fact that the British are more self-assertive in contrast with the French who are sociable meaning gregarious implying submission which reflects docility and suggestability. Thus any people who organize their society around collective action and social concerns are judged inferior by McDougall's reasoning.

A final important attribute is providence: "he is so constituted as to find some satisfaction in possession; that is to say there must be in him an impulse to save or hoard which finds satisfaction in the act of hoarding, an impulse which prompts him to postpone enjoyment of pleasure of immediate use to the satisfaction of possession." Further, if one does not possess such tendencies he is judged to be improvident which is "a negative quality due to the absence of something which makes a man provident."

To sum up McDougall's picture of the strength of the American people, they are those who intelligence tests can certify, have high intelligence, who have willpower, initiative, are assertive, domineering, anti-social, curiosity, and/or morbid and who love accumulation of possessions for the mere sake of it. Such people are the ones that have made America strong and it is McDougall's conclusion that it is such character which must be selected and preserved.

Returning to McDougall's original question, if these are the attributes which made America strong and if there exist people, for example black people, who do not possess these attributes but who, nevertheless are contributing to the genetic pool of America, how can we save America from the inevitable decline? McDougall's conclusion is what he calls "a new factor,"

namely, "the increasing knowledge of human nature and of human society and of the conditions that make for or against the flourishing of human nature and society." This increasing knowledge is none other than the work of social scientists. He further argues that unlike previous world empires America can extend its position of pre-eminence but only if "that knowledge is widely diffused among the people and if it becomes a guide to action in public and private life."

The point of making such an exhaustive review of a book written over 50 years ago is that it summarizes so neatly and succinctly, the role social science has developed in American society. The individual attributes of a capitalist imbued with the Puritan work ethic and the adventursomeness of free wheeling Renaissance individuality without the moderating influence of social responsibility are set out as virtues. Social science is earmarked as the technique that will identify the extent to which individuals possess these attributes. McDougall does not follow his proposal to the next step, but we might do it for him. What does one do when individuals are identified who fail to measure up on any or all of these traits? What are the policies and practices which will/should/ought to follow?

Next I will take a brief look at some of the popular research areas that have developed in recent years which appear to have some relevance to the points made by McDougall. I would doubt that any of the researchers discussed even knew about McDougall's book, however, the research concepts and strategies bear a remarkable similarity to those outlined above.

Modern Extensions of the Social Scientific Cultural Perspective

Self Imposed Delay of Reward

"The ability to postpone immediate gratification for the sake of future consequences, to impose delays of reward on one's self and to tolerate such self-initiated frustration, is basic to most philosophical concepts of 'will power' and their parallel psychological concept of 'ego strength' (Mischel, 1974).

This view has come to be incorporated in the concept of the ability to delay gratification. It was initiated by Mischel (1958; 1961a,b) in a series of investigations conducted in Trinidad, West Indies. These investigations sought to test simple folklore of the island that the East Indian Trinidadians tended to save their money, to resist temptation and to generally prepare themselves for future goals, whereas the Negroes of Trinidad were reputed to be spendthrifts, self-indulgent and unable to delay short-term rewards for long-range goals. The test of that folk notion was conducted in a rural setting in Southern Trinidad. The basic design was very simple. Children were recruited in their school settings to participate in a brief experiment for a white researcher from the States. At the end of their participation the researcher acknowledged that he had a prize for them for being so helpful but informed them that there were two prizes--a smaller prize, a one-cent candy bar which they could have immediately; or a larger prize, a five cent candy bar which he was currently out of but if they would prefer to have that they could get it the following week. The results showed that the Negroes consistently preferred the smaller candy bar immediately, whereas the East Indians almost without exception preferred to wait for the larger bar.

Later studies in this same series (Mischel, 1961a,b,c) showed that the likelihood of making delay choices was positively related to need for achievement, need for social approval, and the tendency not to engage in socially unacceptable behavior. Children who made immediate choices were also more likely to have fathers absent from the household.

Extensions of this research to the United States tended to show that black Americans were also more likely to make immediate choices (Lessing, 1969), although this finding is not a very robust one. For example, Zythkoskee and McCandless (1970) found no differences in delay choices between black and white pre-school children, and Strickland, (1972) found that black adolescents were more likely to make delay choices if the experimenter were black.

Since that early study there has emerged greater sophistication both theoretically and methodologically. There is now a pattern of personal attributes associated with delayed behavior which Mischel summarizes in the following way:

The delayed gratification person is more likely to be oriented toward the future and to plan carefully for distant goals. He also is apt to have high scores on ego control measures, high achievement motivation, to be trusting and socially responsible, to be brighter and more mature, to have a high level of aspiration, and to show less uncontrolled impulsivity. This pattern tends to be found most often in middle and upper socio-economic classes and in highly achievement oriented cultures.

On the other side the person who is an immediate gratifier shows greater concern with the immediate present than with the future and greater impulsivity. This pattern is correlated with membership in the lower socio-economic classes, cultures in which achievement orientation is low and with indices of lesser social and cognitive competence. (Mischel, 1966)

While Mischel acknowledges that both of these patterns might be maladaptive in their extreme forms he goes on to note that clinically, persons diagnosed as delinquents and psychopaths are often characterized

by an immediate reward choice pattern. However, extreme delayed-gratifiers are not clinically diagnosed because that extreme form of behavior is often successful by general societal standards.

The subsequent research conducted under this model is conceived as a two state process. The first process concerns conditions under which the decision to delay gratification is made. This choice behavior is under a variety of constraints and shows general socio-demographic profile as described above. However once an individual has decided to delay, it is necessary to make a series of adjustments to maintain the delayed behavior in the face of frustration or undesirable activities. For example, if a person decides to get a Ph.D. that decision obviously means a certain amount of gratification will have to be delayed. However, having made that decision it is necessary to sustain and remake that decision over and over again for roughly four years. The parameters affecting the initial decision may be different from those determining the likelihood of maintaining that decision.

There are several important parameters that vary from experiment to experiment which make it difficult to draw any conclusions about racial differences specifically, and how the phenomenon might be applied to real behavioral choices more generally. One important variation is the delayed interval which has varied from one week (Mischel, 1958) to as much as ten years in some hypothetical questionnaire studies (e.g., Lessing, 1969). In addition to variable intervals, the value of the rewards has not been controlled. One problem is the actual magnitude of reward where from 1¢ candy bars to \$30 have been used as incentives. Another aspect of the reward is the confounded covariation with the delay choice. In fact it is this confounding that defines the phenomenon. Thus any choice between

rewards of different magnitudes is simultaneously a choice between two temporal contingencies. It is possible, indeed likely, that factors which influence a size-of-reward choice may not be the same as those which influence the delivery-time choice. For example, if one is parched and stranded on the desert a glass of water now is likely to be preferred over a magnum of champagne later. The situation, temporary physical and emotional states of the person are all likely to influence choice.

In spite of the many problems which the delay of gratification concept poses for interpretation and generalization of these findings, it continues to be a major area of social scientific research. One can see that the tendency to postpone enjoyable activities in favor of those which are not so satisfying in the short run, but promise greater satisfaction and achievement in the future is a positively valued, highly rewarded capacity. In a capitalist, work-oriented, time-saving society such as this one, it seems to me that there is little doubt that the delay gratification research is part of the 'new factor' orientation espoused by McDougall. Whether the researchers themselves believe it or even know it, this work is a part of social science's role in identifying attributes and the people who possess them which will advance American society as conceived from a particular cultural perspective.

Internal vs. External Control of Reinforcement

One of the most widely used instruments in social scientific research is the IE Scale developed by Julian Rotter (1966). Whereas the delay of gratification concept concerns the conjoining of quantitative and temporal aspects of gratification, the IE analysis emphasizes the locus of gratification contingencies. Specifically Rotter argues the following, "When a reinforcement is perceived by the subject as following some action

of his own but not being entirely contingent upon his action, then in our culture it is perceived as the result of luck, chance, fate as unpredictable because of the great complexity of the forces surrounding him. We have labeled this a belief in external control. If the person perceives that the event is contingent upon his own behavior or his own relatively permanent characteristics we have termed this a belief in internal control" (1966, p.1).

This model then concerns what an individual perceives to be the cause of success. The assumption which has been largely confirmed in numerous experiments over the past ten years is that people who score high in their belief in internal control will tend to invest more personal energy in achieving outcomes that are desirable, since they believe their efforts cause the success. On the other hand, people who are external are more likely to believe that what they do makes relatively little difference and hence to invest less in achieving desirable outcomes. For example, Killman and Howell (1974) showed that internals are better therapeutic risks in a marathon therapeutic session. Basically this meant that internals were more willing to invest themselves in and to believe in their ability to benefit from a therapeutic session. A similar kind of finding was obtained by Johnson and Meyer (1974) where internals were shown to use bio-feedback to increase their alpha rhythms to a greater extent than externals.

If we return briefly once again to McDougall's notion of self-assertion and initiative we again find a parallel. The internal who is culturally valued, the capitalist entrepreneur if you will, is the kind of person who remains independent and seeks to achieve personal success in our society.

More importantly, he believes what he does can make a difference, (i.e., that he has societal support). As with the delayed gratification analysis, locus of control researchers put a unidimensional value-laden model with internals at the position end and externals at the negative end.

However, several researchers (Gurin, Gurin and Beatty and Lao, 1969; Reid and Ware, 1973; Jones, 1972b; Mirels, 1970; Levenson and Miller, 1976) have factor analyzed the original IE Scale and discovered that the internal-external dimension is at least two dimensional. That is, it is possible for one to score both external and internal from the same questionnaire instrument. The Gurins found that among black college students militancy tended often to be associated with externality. This usually meant blaming the system for deficiencies in black treatment. With white students most frequently the kind of action orientation associated with militancy was highly correlated with internality. Lao (1970) found that black students who were high externals tended to be more innovative and creative, a result again opposite to that normally obtained with white students.

In some, a high internal score suggests one's belief in personal efficacy but a high external score can suggest a belief in the complicity of generalized forces to retard your progress. Levenson and Miller (1976), refuted the earlier contention that externals were less capable of instrumental behavior. They showed that a belief in the power of political forces, coupled with a conviction of personal efficacy (orthogonal factors within the IE Scale; cf. Jones, 1972b), could produce instrumental behavior toward political change.

Going back again to the cultural perspective which social science tends to maintain, we note that internality combined with delayed gratification are both essential ingredients of the Protestant Ethic. They are not only

identified as personality attributes, but attempts to modify behavior are often employed. In one study (Reimanis, 1974), behavior modification procedures were instituted in high school and college students in an attempt to increase internality verbalizations. A high delay peer was used as a model to increase delay choice behavior among prison inmates (Strumphauser, 1972).

IQ Measurement

The development of what McDougall called 'mental anthropology' has had a significant affect on American social science. Following the argument that genetic stock was responsible for the success of nations, and positing the pivotal role of social science in protecting that success, the genetic versus environmental argument has remained most constant in the area of IQ.⁵

The genetic argument for IQ heritability conveniently follows the social darwinism position and promises at a minimum that those groups with lower measured IQ's cannot be significantly helped with special training, and at a maximum, that the aggregate gene pool in the American population will decline with respect to IQ if significant degrees of blood-mixing take place.

After the rather blatantly biased review article of Shuey (1956), there seemed to be little argument about the nature-nurture issue. However, the publication of Jensen's (1969) piece rekindled the issues and Herrnstein's (1971) extension fanned the flames.

The rebuttal to the genetic argument is not based on simple racial prejudice as appeared to be the case so clearly in Shuey's biased review. The social scientific response to Jensen was largely a call for environmental rather than genetic interpretations. While there were certainly cogent critiques of the genetic argument, the fundamental assumption that

intelligence is what IQ tests measure was not fully assailed. Thus, by interjecting the environmental argument, the question is now framed, "Are black people inferior because of their genes or their environment?"⁶

An example of how the environmental argument can have just as negative implications as the genetic argument is the recent notion of Zajonc (1974). He makes the argument that a family IQ is based on the resources of each family member. The addition of new members with fewer resources can diminish the aggregate family IQ because the resources must be distributed over more people. This leads Zajonc to the conclusion that the closer together children are born and the more numerous they are in a given family, the greater the diminution of family IQ. Thus again we have a theory which strikes at the heart of observation of black life. Black families tend to be larger, and children spaced closer together. There are numerous problems with this formulation and the empirical evidence on which it is based. However, it is a good example of how theories from different perspectives in social science can have the same kind of negative effect on the assumptions of black competence in American society.

The more enlightened social scientists, recognizing the inherent cultural bias in the very concept of IQ tests and the assumption that intelligence is what they measure, have attempted to develop the notions of 'culture free' or 'culture fair' tests. I would argue that culture free tests are virtually impossible to construct, and culture fair tests are likely to be unwieldy if they take into account the variety of cultural influences that could affect a paper and pencil test. Nevertheless, these efforts do show recognition of the problems and make a reasonable attempt, within the inherent limitations of the testing concept, to produce instruments with the broadest applicability and validity.

There is not space in this paper to exhaust the argument on IQ tests. I simply want to point out that in a sense, they stand as the symbolic representative of the evidence for black inferiority in American society. As long as a naively simple definition such as 'intelligence is what IQ tests measure' is employed, it seems to me to be a matter of political haggling rather than conceptual and empirical progress. Intelligence is a biological concept and is evidenced by evolutionary success, not simply social success like becoming a doctor, or a professor. Within any major ecological niche, certain responses and capacities are adaptive and others are not. The intelligent ones adapt and survive, the others don't.⁷ To think that a simple IQ test can measure the myriad situations in which people find themselves, and further to tap the countless different forms of adaptation is extremely limited. However, in the main, social science has continued in one form or another to attempt to reduce this complex phenomenon to a variety of measurements for the purposes of identifying those who are more 'intelligent.'

Achievement Motivation

It seems that all of these aspects of the American character are subservient to the dominant motive, achievement. The achievement motive (McClelland, et al, 1953; McClelland, 1961) has dominated America since the Puritans elevated Calvinistic philosophy to its highest materialistic form. Man is only human when he works. His place in heaven can be revealed on earth by the things he accomplishes. Indulge not your passions, your fantasies, your childish whims.

The character traits described by McDougall falls neatly into the prototype of the high need achiever. Moreover, both the I-E scale and the 'ability' (as it is referred to in the literature) to delay gratification

have been positively associated with achievement motivation. Herrnstein's (1971) analysis of IQ and its link to success in the meritocracy that is America makes very explicit what those who place great importance in IQ scores have assumed.

There is no question that success and achievement are a part of any society. There is also no question that what defines success and achievement can vary from society to society and, within societies, from person to person. However, with the cultural monolith of social science research to define and refine personal attributes which follow from the Puritan world view, and further to match those attributes with specific avenues of socially sanctioned success, individuals in this society often find themselves identified and labeled as unsuccessful.

Weiner et al (1971) have combined aspects of the locus of control elements of the I-E Scale, with temporal aspects of behavior outcomes to make an interesting four-fold model of achievement perceptions. Outcomes can be stable or unstable over time, and the causes can be internal or externally located with respect to the person. A stable outcome whose cause can be located within the person is evidence of ability (or lack of it), while an external locus implies that the task is very easy (or very difficult). With an unstable outcome, an internal attribution implies the degree of effort varies, while an external attribution implies luck or chance is involved.

The Protestant Ethic model of achievement motivation and behavior restricts such observations to one of the above quadrants, effort.

The notion of the high achiever is able to expend great effort and who believes that some combination of ability and effort will lead to success. In this society hard work is rewarded more than ability. A study by Weiner et al (1971) showed that teacher's would evaluate a student with less

ability who worked hard more favorably than one with more ability who did not desire (or have) to work hard, even though the outcomes of their efforts were comparable.

In order to believe in the utility of hard work or effort, it is necessary to have examples that the society will objectively and fairly reward it. This has certainly not always been true for black people. When you see people who have gone to college to obtain B.A. degrees only to get jobs for which no college education is necessary, it is not the best evidence for the utility of a belief in effort. To the extent that the likelihood of expressing achievement-oriented attitudes and behaviors is dependent on a belief in the basic supportive nature of the environmental systems within which a person must exercise those motivations, then any evidence that the systems are not supportive ought to diminish the expression of achievement-related behavior attitudes or imagery. It is very likely that the numerous studies which seem to imply that black youth in particular are less motivated to achieve could be a reflection of this internalized perception.

Summary

I have attempted to cover in a fairly succinct fashion, the select areas of more recent social science research which suggests that the arguments put forth by McDougall have not lain fallow, but have been nurtured wittingly and unwittingly, by social scientists for the past 55 years. In recent years, the strong genetic personological analysis has become somewhat less popular as environmentalists and anti-trait personality theorists have recognized the enormous situational influence on the expression of any behavioral tendency. The evidence, though, is strong that the particular cultural assumptions which informed McDougall's analysis also

play a prominent role in the kinds of human capacities studied and the nature of the interpretations given to the results. It is not my intention to discredit the entirety of social science research on the grounds of cultural bias. Rather, I suggest that we must recognize the degree of bias which enters into our presumed objective musings and measurements and interpretations, and realize that the picture thus generated is very one-sided. My contention is that Black Psychology can and must adopt different postures with respect to these specific issues and possibly create some new ones. The material that we have to work with is the many and varied experiences that collectively comprise the Black Experience. Some possibilities for this work will be explored in the next section of this paper.

The Cultural Approach in Black Psychology

I began this paper with the observation that social science enjoyed a very special position in American socio-political and educational spheres. In subsequent sections, I attempted to show that this position is not incidentally one that was conceived by social thinkers early in this century and follows a pattern of identifying, labelling and training individuals in certain specific areas of functioning. These areas are derived from the implicit and explicit assumptions of the cultural ideals and beliefs of America.

Given the cultural boundedness of American social science, what stance can Black Psychology adopt? I suggested three in the opening pages and will use them to organize my discussion here.

Political Adversary or Advocate

I have mentioned that social science enjoys a position of tremendous power in American society. With the scientific method as the ultimate authority, social science appears to stand behind most decisions of national prominence. As with most other institutions, black people have consistently come out on the short end.

In the first instance, as shown earlier, most of the findings have been based on a unidimensional value-laden model which has argued for black inadequacy. The result is a general deficit interpretation of black life which for liberal thinkers and politicians suggests the need for 'remedial' training. For more conservative thinkers, it means black inputs are less, therefore the diminished black outcomes are justified.

These arguments bounce back and forth buttressed by research findings and argued out in courts of law, halls of Congress or smoke-filled back rooms where deals are made. Since 'expert testimony' is so much a part of

modern day decision making, it is necessary for black psychology to make consistent and strong input to this process. That input must be at every level from basic research findings that must be admitted as evidence, to getting into the court-rooms, the halls of Congress (at least to the ears of our black congressional leaders) or wherever decisions get made.

In order to do this, we must also have access to the huge financial piece that supports social science every year. This means that black psychologists must get out and insert themselves in the processes of money allocations in both the public and private sector. We must obtain financial support for top level research, symposia and other forums for the exchange of ideas and findings.

Finally, we must launch a systematic effort to see that a critical number of black people enter the social scientific industry each year, and more, graduate with full professional status. A natural consequence of each of these efforts would be the infusion of social scientific influence with a black perspective and a softening of the negative impact.

Exemplary Practitioners

With its strong cultural perspective, American social science has presented an aggregate view of human capacity that is one-sided and unidimensional. The judgment of which areas of research ought to be promoted, what findings constitute major advances, and indeed, what kind of research ought to occupy journal space rests in the hands of a relatively few people all of whom have some commitment to, belief in or socialization into the dominant American cultural perspective. The pattern of research foci and findings has remained remarkably stable over the years and points with incredible coincidence toward the fulfillment of McDougall's vision of social science as the 'new factor.'

This one-dimensional cultural perspective needs to be elaborated within the traditional canons, procedures and strategies of social science research. What this means is that one must simply pose the questions from the obverse valued perspective and see what research and interpretations emerge.

For example, the literature on delay of gratification consistently points out the superiority of delay over immediate behavior. What are some of the short-comings of extreme delay behavior and what are some advantages of immediate choices? If one assumes that delay behavior is a result of social learning (babies and small children always want every thing right now), then delay is a result of the suppression or suspension of natural tendencies. To a point, this is necessary in a social environment over which one does not have (nor can have) total control. However, the use of reinforcements to sustain delay behavior means that a secondary conditioning process, delay itself can become rewarding. Enjoyment, fun, play, excitement, happiness are feelings or activities of the present, things which are gratifying in and of themselves. Such experiences are often denied a person who has learned successfully to delay gratification continuously.

One of the most common complaints one hears from old people is that if they could do it over, they would have more fun. They wouldn't postpone doing all of the interesting and enjoyable things in life until it was too late. But our society teaches us from early that the larger reward later is always the better choice.

One of the things that needs to be done is to show some of the ways in which immediate gratifiers express attributes that are positive and

useful. Possibly the ability to make quick decisions, to promote positive and confident feelings, to energize a task-oriented exercise toward successful and enjoyable completion are such examples.

In reality, we all make both delayed and immediate choices. What are the determinants of which decision get made in which circumstances? Can one profile the influential factors? Strickland (1972) showed that black adolescents made more delayed responses to a black experimenter. Social science operates on the null principle as a strategy for revealing group differences. Since 'you can't prove the null' we are oriented to disproving it (cf. Jones, 1974 for an elaboration of the pitfalls in excessive adherence to null hypothesis testing). The result is a profile of differences. What may be more salient and critical is how different thresholds or eliciting conditions operate across similar attributes, abilities or tendencies. The differences lie in the patterns of expression and choice, not in the fundamental capacities which are assumed to underlie them.

Thus with the delay literature, what would be more compelling as a social science enterprise is to show how patterns of immediate and delay choices comprise the development of decision-making and behavioral style in individuals or in groups of varying socio-demographic characteristics. This approach accepts the utility of social scientific procedures but seeks to widen the general view that results. To do that, I would argue, the researcher must have a different set of cultural assumptions to inform the first-stage formation of hypotheses. In subsequent later stages of the research enterprise, the nature of data collection, analysis and interpretation will all be affected accordingly. Black Psychology can make a contribution

not only to the understanding of black people, but to a more complete picture of all people.

The I-E scale also suffers from a one-dimensional interpretation. At its extreme, the internal person (or society) appears to be the anti-spiritual humanist who believes that all that matters is what man alone can accomplish on earth. The abject disregard for nature and its laws and order has resulted in the alarm we now see as expressed by the environmental protection, ecological concern. Anyone who believes in forces beyond their immediate control (like bio-rhythms, supreme being, natural order, everything has its place and time and so on) are branded as externals and deemed inferior.

I would argue that the extreme internal invites invidious comparisons in precisely the Calvinist tradition which suggested that God's Elect would be revealed on earth by the deeds they did and the material possessions they accumulated. From the external perspective, all people are at times controlled and influenced and affected by forces beyond them. Each person must do his or her best with the life they have, but in the final analysis, we all must bow down to the Supreme force. From this view, we do not elevate ourselves over others, rather, we share in a common fate and destiny.

This is admittedly a loose construal of the I-E scale, but given the cultural biases noted, and the straight-line evolution from Calvinist theology through Puritan moralism to modern-day achievement motivation, I do not believe it is off target. What would happen if we evolved a set of principles based on a theology that was more congruent with African religious heritage and notions of a spiritual world? I suggest that a very different portrait would emerge. (The beginnings of such a conception have been advanced by Nobles (1972) and Clark (1972).

In general, the approaches I have outlined here I call Revisionist Approaches. That is, we are taking given research paradigms and their attendant interpretative schemes and revised the meaning and the value of underlying rationales. With such a strategy, one can make valuable contributions which will utilize a Black perspective in a positive way. This is one stance that Black Psychology can adopt in ~~the~~ social scientific enterprise.

Pioneering Leaders

There are many black researchers who reject in toto the social scientific model. They argue that it is a cultural creation whose sole purpose is to justify, rationalize and support American Racism. Although I do not view American social science with that degree of cynicism, I certainly include it as a major example of cultural racism (Jones, 1972a).

In an extreme view, I would argue that Black people are fundamentally artistic and black life is an expression of the celebration of life. It is a fluid, expressive emotional and passionate life that is bound to be misinterpreted, or misunderstood or simply not comprehended by the controlled, impersonal formalistic procedures of social science. Whereas a person imbued with a Puritan philosophy will behave in systematic ways can be measured by the instruments of social science, black people often are not so easily encapsulated.

If there is any hope to provide a comprehensive account of the black experience within the framework of the American experience, I suggest some fusion of the principles, beliefs and practices of an artistic point of view, with the controlled observations of scientific procedure must take place.

Johnetta Cole (1970) has given us a start in the conceptualization of

the components of Black Culture. She suggests three major components: Mainstream America within which we necessarily function from day to day; Minority Experience which we share with other minorities and brings a special perception of wariness and vigilance whenever we encounter the majority group; Black Experience is unique to us and consists in two major aspects, Soul (defined as long suffering and emotional consequences) and Style (the concern with the form and process of individual expression and identity).

Each of these components interact in varying degrees within each of us. Given the wide range possible by such interaction, it is clear that many different types of experiences are possible and types of black people could emerge. One of the significant stances Black Psychology could adopt is the systematic analysis of how these components combine to create different aspects of the black experience. Moreover, to discover what black people share across regional, socio-economic and educational lines which gives meaning to the concept of Black Culture.

There are two concepts I would like to suggest would offer a good starting place for the fusion of concepts of art and science, and which have the ability to permit an analysis of older questions, and possibly the posing of new ones. These are the notions of rhythm and improvisation.

Rhythm. Webster's dictionary defines rhythm as

'an ordered recurrent alternation of strong and weak elements in a flow of sound and silence in speech; a movement or fluctuation marked by a regular recurrence or natural flow of related elements; a regularly recurring quantitative change in a variable biological process.'

Rhythm concerns the flow of sound and silence in recurring patterns, of natural elements in relationship to each other, even of biological systems. A concept as important as this one is trivialized when reduced to the simple

quasi-pejorative stereotype, 'black folks all got rhythm.' Everybody has rhythm. Walking constitutes a rhythm. Environments support certain rhythms and demand others. It is not possible to maintain the same living pace in the middle of Manhattan as it is in the plains of Kansas.

The density of Urban living has been blamed for much of the character of both the good and bad qualities of cities (cf. Milgram, 1970). If people comprise the natural elements, then the density of cities simply demands that a certain rhythmic interaction is required.

Is it not possible to extend the Art is Life metaphor to the observation that one of the most fundamental of all rhythms is the heart beat, the final arbiter of life-death? Another consistent rhythmic force is the sun (and the moon). Everyday we look for the sun to tell us to begin. Then there is the land of the mid-night sun which moves in 6 month cycles of light and dark. Does that not produce a different rhythm?

We are speaking of the laws of nature which confer certain patterns (generally regular, but sometimes irregular or raggedy from whence we get rag-time and certain elements of blues, jazz and gospel musical forms), on human functioning. To my knowledge there is no psychology of rhythm. There has been no attempt to take so fundamental a concept and apply it as a yardstick for understanding human differences as well as similarities. We do see bio-rhythm charts but why not psycho-rhythm, emoto-rhythm and so on.

Rhythm is simply an organization of time into recurring patterns. How do you spend your day? Some days are hustle and bustle, lots to do with little time to do it in. Other days are leisurely, little to do and plenty of time to do it in. The pace of week days is generally faster than the pace for week-ends. Some people function by night others by day. Writers often work early in the day while fresh, and relax in the evening.

Performers and entertainers work by night and relax in the day.

Given that you have established a rhythm, a pattern that is comfortable, what happens when your environment suddenly changes requiring a different rhythmic pattern. (You move from the country to the city or vice versa). Your systems are thrown off and you have to adjust. Some can do it, others have greater difficulty and some never manage. Perhaps individuals function best when the environment in which they find themselves is maximally conducive to the rhythm they have established. Here I conceive rhythm broadly to include both physical aspects, physiological, emotional, and psychological aspects of organization.

The implications of this speculation are extensive. Considering music first, we could make an exhaustive analysis of rhythm in music with a particular goal of establishing some of the psychological implications in terms of preference, production, patterns with corresponding individual and group differences. It is not accidental that one thing which distinguishes black from white music is the rhythm. For all of the wild experimentation and imitation of the rock musicians with black musical forms and styles, there has never been a widespread ability to copy and reproduce and create black rhythms. Indeed, it is because the rhythmic sense springs from a very deep place in the soul not only of the performer, but the people.

There is a rhythm to decision making as well. If a person prefers a slower pace, then decisions which permit them to remain in a relatively quiet situation will probably take precedence over one which requires immediate action. Some people make quick decisions, others take more time to ponder. Kagan, Pearson and Welch (1966) have suggested that impulsivity-reflectivity can be an important measure of cognitive development in children. What this reflects is a time pattern, a rhythm in terms of

attention and psychological engagement. So too, the delay gratification concept involves time-adjustment patterns which might be influenced by rhythmic styles. Rather than trying to measure everyone against some achievement oriented outcome, perhaps these notions would be better understood as expressions of different rhythmic styles or propensities.

Another example, if you make a smaller amount of money for each money-making activity, it will take you more acts to make the same amount of money as someone who gets a larger return for his time. One way of looking at this pattern is in terms of rhythm. The former person will be required to live a faster life filled with more activities. The latter will have a greater continuity and regularity to his activities. Would it not seem likely that the people who must function in these situations would have to adopt or possess different life-styles to be successful? Would not their environments make different demands on them? Perhaps the differences in economic class are in part differences in the rhythm the circumstances support or demand.

I could go on and on with examples that could be made to fit within a general model of human choice and action based on the concept of psychology of rhythm. Let me simply close by saying the ability to explore this concept with the purpose of rationalizing old perspectives and uncovering new ones is well within the grasp and interest of Black Psychology. Perhaps starting from this end of human expression we will discover some different capacities further down the road.

Improvisation

The achievement motivation literature conceives optimum achievement conditions to be those in which probability of success is maximized while probability of failure is minimized and the outcome is highly valued. If you set your aspirations too high, the probability of success is low.

If your aspirations are too low, probability of success is very high, but the value of the outcome is too low. The prototype of the successful achiever from these conceptual underpinnings is a low-risk, relatively conservative person who sets reasonable goals and whose accomplishments increment slowly but evenly over time en route to the desired goal.

In order for one to establish such goals, evaluate the associated probabilities for success and failure, and to make these incremental decisions, one must have a relatively stable, reliable environment. It must respond to you in a systematic and calculable way. Moreover, it must support the particular talents and proclivities you count on to aid you in achieving the outcomes you seek.

When one is faced with relatively unstable and/or unknown environmental systems, and possesses attributes whose merits are unevenly evaluated or consistently negatively evaluated, the conditions for the standard high need achiever are not met. For such a person, success often comes if at all, through a self-made scheme of improvisation.

Those persons who are able to follow pre-set plans to completion with relatively few and minor hitches receive praise for their strong achievement capacities. More likely than not, people who do not have avenues of decision making laid out for them, or environments which already constitute a pipeline to success must follow their instincts, intuitions, hopes and anything else they conjure to help them get over.

Hustling for whatever we achieve is status quo for black people. In whatever form it occurs, it involves improvisation. Successful hustling necessarily involves disciplined improvisation. One can hustle to achieve almost anything. We are very good at that. However, discipline comes in when we learn how to accumulate the positive improvised outcomes in such a way that future circumstances afford higher payoffs.

Improvising does not start from scratch, it begins with a given structure or form or possibility. The improviser then takes that given and creates around/with/on it until something new emerges. Improvising is a creative process which relies on spontaneity, quick judgment, strong associative powers and great energy. The energy required is enormous since the external supports are minimal. Only the barest outlines are given, the rest is supplied from the individuals own creative perceptions.

Again, we use a musical concept with inherent artistic components to suggest another way of interpreting a pattern of human potential or capability. American society requires great improvisation, but that is not what we are consistently lead to believe. We are taught as if all we need do is the right/good/virtuous/intelligent thing (go to school, hard work, be honest) and we'll be successful. Reality teaches a different lesson. For many, the right moves have led them to the door of success only to find that somebody's cousin slipped in the back door and ate the dessert.

The view of achievement promoted in school and even by academic theorists is classical. It is form with point for point guidelines guaranteeing success. Like classical music, the script (score) is set and any number of people can play it with nearly the identical outcome. By contrast, a jazz musician takes an outline of certain thematic ideas and invests them with his personality, vision, talent and motive to create his outcome. Each one is unique and stamped with the creator's/performer's individuality.

In a real sense, each person's life is necessarily unique. What works for one will not work for another. What won't work for another might work for this one. Improvising is more than a way to play music, it concerns

re-arranging plans, adopting new postures, taking a given and making it into something better. Whereas Adorno et al (1950) and Rokeach (1960) discussed the limiting conditions of personal rigidity which they linked to racial prejudice, the emphasis on improvisation underscores personal fluidity and adaptability and personal expression.

This country is so bureaucratized and rule-governed that people with a creative improvisational flair often have a great deal of difficulty unless they can create a special environment for themselves. By focusing on the contours of improvisation, how it can be promoted and channeled to effective use, it might be possible to lift the shackles a lot of people feel about them.

As with the concept of rhythm, when an environment is unsupportive of a personal psycho-behavioral style, whether it's a particular rhythmic pulse, need or tendency to behave in more fluid personally stylized ways, the consequences is restriction and diminution of human capacity and potential. Any systematic application of social science should have the goal not of rubber-stamping a limited set of cultural attributes or values which have currency for some unspecified sub-set of the citizenry, but to promote whatever concepts or models can be shown to release and elevate the human spirit.

I call this broadest rethinking of social science with artistic metaphors the revolutionist approach. For if we are able to advance concepts with a fundamental artistic basis and to shift the focus to one that is a promotion of the greatest good for the good of all, it would be a revolutionary stance for American social science. In this bicentennial year, perhaps the 'new factor' can be just that. The salvation of the American nation resides in its ability to comprehend and incorporate the legacy of black life and culture in America for the liberation and fulfillment of all Americans.

FOOTNOTES

1. Even as early as 1905, there was a link between social thought and social engineering (cf. Hofstadter's Social Darwinism, 1955). Social darwinism provided the philosophy for the Eugenics movement and culminated in sterilization laws in Indiana. Research on family size, and structure seems to be pointing now for sterilization controls in certain welfare cases.

2. We could date the formal beginnings of black psychology with the publication of W.E.B. DuBois' Souls of Black Folks (1903); with the meeting of a group of psychologists who were black at the APA meetings in San Francisco in 1967; with Joseph White's (1970) essay on Black Psychology; Charles Thomas' (1971) Boys No More; or with the publication of the edited works by Reginald Jones, Black Psychology (1972). However, it is not particularly important to arrive at a convenient starting point for the formal beginnings of Black Psychology. In fact, I would argue that in a fundamental sense Black Psychology has been practiced in this country by black people since the first slave ship landed in 1619. The ability of a people to survive, to propagate, to grow, to adapt in an environment as hostile and alien and ignorant of their basic motives and needs as this society has been for four hundred years is a tribute to the depth of the practice of black psychology.

3. Lest there be any doubt of McDougall's interpretation of this summary, the following quote from McDougall, offered with unquestioned acceptance, of work by N.S. Shaler (The Neighbor, 1904), "All the facts we have point to the same unhappy conclusion, that the Negro, considered as a species is, by nature, incapable of creating or maintaining societies of an order above barbarism, and that, so far as we can discern, this feature of his nature, depending as it does, on the lack of certain qualities of mind, is irremedial" (Shaler, 1904, p.139).

4. It should be noted of course that the genetic mixing has always been considerably greater in the South than in the North and that if anything the white influence should be more demonstrable in the southern than in the northern population. The fact of the superior northern black male I.Q. test scores should obviously be attributed to the nature of the school system and the association of that school system to the ability to take intelligence tests.

5. A thorough review of this controversy can be followed in the edited book I.Q. Controversy (Block and Dworkin, 1976). There is not space nor is it necessary to follow the details of this controversy here.

6. A novel critique of the Jensen argument on racial differences in IQ is offered by Kamin (1974). In addition to the fact that Jensen and heritability estimates established on whites to make arguments about blacks and to draw racial comparisons, Kamin argued that the data which Jensen relied on for his analysis was suspect. He pointed out inconsistencies and inaccuracies which if true would render any conclusion about heritability of IQ gratuitous.

7. McClelland (1973) has argued that IQ tests are not reliable predictors of a variety of instrumental real-world competencies that make a difference. He suggests the need to discover generalized competence which are manifest across real-life situations would be far more useful and predictive than the isolated IQ test results.

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